1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

Nonetheless, elite Santal were somewhat more Hinduized

177 556 than their poorer fellows. Some managed to attract a coterie of high-caste but often impoverished Hindus. One hears of wealthy Santal who spent considerable sums on such associates during trips to and attendance at Hindu festivals. Some who 177 556 622 were village headmen or Parganaths (multi-village headmen) established enduring relations with the Mahārājā or local zemindar of their region. These Santal often were given responsibility for tax collection, in return for which they kept a portion and received grants of land. 648

177 608 648 The Santal have long followed the practice of establishing among themselves, and with other castes, permanent bonds of a kinship type, which are given public recognition in a "flower" (*phul*; Santali and Hindi =flower) ceremony. In some instances an elite family managed to establish such a tie with a Brahman family while ordinary Santal contracted such relations only with other tribals or Hindus of very low caste. *This contact contributed to differential emulation of Hindu practices.* Some of the [192] [583] traditional elite among the southern Santal abandoned beef-eating and cow sacrifice; some affected the dress of high-caste Hindus; a few demanded an end to "capture marriage" (*itut' bapla*) because they did not wish to have close relations with unwealthy families of low status. Though their success in getting the non-elite to follow their Hinduized practices was limited, a certain degree of culture difference was established, to the detriment of solidarity.

177 However, as the historical evidence indicates and as any contemporary observer could infer, contact with Hindu society has been long and/or intensive, and that portion of Santal culture shared by all Santal is so marked with Hindu traits that it [759] would be a monumental task to indicate all of them. All Santal call on neighboring Hindus of low caste to deliver babies.

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

tribal peoples has been most marked, special circumstances attend the disruptions. In most of Africa, money wages and industrial work have been accompanied by the separation of the wage worker from his village, with his consequent removal from the sanctions and social controls of the tribal society."[9]

The pronounced cultural and social changes observed among the Santal should add to the evidence indicating the significance of migration. In addition the microscopic form of anthropological inquiry used with the Santal reveals something more of the *modus operandi* of migration to industrial employment than can be seen at the macroscopic level at which Weber operated.

Traditional Marriage Forms

The Santal have a number of legitimate or quasi-legitimate forms of marriage. It is the manner in which a marriage is contracted, i.e., whether or not it is arranged, and the way in which it is celebrated, which define the form. The various forms are graded by cost and elaboration of the ceremonies performed, and differ significantly in the ceremonial content. There are relatively few arranged marriages among Santal industrial workers living in *bustees* as compared to those among the Santal living in their traditional native villages. The results of my research into this difference indicate that it is the result of migration to industrial employment, that the shift to unarranged marriages among the workers is the result of weakened bonds with both kin and villages, and finally that this is the result of neither migration nor industrial employment singly, but rather of the two together.

The marriage form with the highest prestige and involving the greatest expenditure is known as *duar itut' sindur* ("placing

[9] Nash 1958:113.

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

vermilion on the bride at the door"), *duar bapla* ("door marriage"), or *Diku bapla* ("Hindu marriage"); henceforth it shall be referred to as *DB*. All these names call attention to the fact that in this form, as distinct from all others, vermilion is applied to the bride before the door of the bride's house rather than the groom's. The term *Diku bapla* reminds one in addition that application of vermilion at the bride's house is the Hindu custom, while in all other forms of marriage it is applied at the groom's house. It also points to the fact that this form generally involves more Hindu traits than any other. Unlike the other forms, a proper *DB* requires the hiring of a Hindu band and dancers, and the performance, before the application of vermilion, of the marriage of the bride to a tree, a rite which is practiced by many neighboring Hindu castes. The *DB*, like other arranged marriages, allows the couple if they are mature to give or withhold consent before marriage arrangements are completed. Such consent is almost always forthcoming, for a Santal girl rarely dares to go against her parents' wishes. Nearly all the inhabitants of both the bride's and groom's village are involved in the marriage ceremony and ensuing activities. A large party from the groom's village accompanies the groom to the village of his bride. Tradition requires his family to hire from some Hindu caste (usually Harijans or members of other castes of low status) a number of men to carry the groom on a palanquin to the bride's house; a Hindu dancing girl and entertainers ought also to be part of the entourage. Today, if the groom happens to be a TISCO worker returning to his village to have a *DB* marriage, he may be borne by a hired taxi instead. One such worker imported for the occasion, a hired wagon equipped with a phonograph and loud speakers, thereby enabling his rural brethren to listen

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

585 524 another of a more esoteric sort: "It is made of brick and gold-plated. The 'assistant headman' [*Jogmaṅjhi*] wants a dhoti [a traditional male garb consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth tied about the body in a variety of ways] to be given to the go-between [*raebar*] for a marriage but the 'headman' [*maṅjhi*] does not want it to be given." Answer: "This would be during an eclipse (brick and gold-plated). The 'assistant headman' would ask for the dhoti for the go-between, but the 'headman' knows about the eclipse and says no because during an eclipse no marriage can be performed." The significance of this answer lies, of course, in the superior traditional knowledge and authority of the headman.

Each time the groom's party is halted the village representatives make such remarks as "Yes, you must be put to some trouble, for you are taking a bride from us"; or "The oldest son of so-and-so has come to be married but the path is too narrow." With a lack of social understanding which perhaps can only be acquired in college, a "B.A. failed" with a bride's party at one such occasion asked with an appropriately insulting tone what the largest flower in the world was; after rejecting various witty replies, he announced that all present were fools and if they were not all so "ignorant" they would know that it was "rafflesia"!

Members of the groom's party proceed with exaggerated boasts of the great wealth they are bringing. In this and a number of other ways the involvement of the entire village of
• 583 the bride and that of the groom is expressed. While this is particularly true of the two highest forms of marriage, it is true to some extent even of the lesser forms which require at least the notification of the headman.

The bride-price proper (*gonoṅ*) in all forms of Santal mar-

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

583 riage is fixed at two cows if the bride's father is living, and one if he is dead. Additional payments made by the groom's guardians include the presentation of dhotis to the bride's guardians and to a number of her co-villagers; the cost of these gifts is not fixed but will be greater in a *DB* than in any other form of marriage. The really heavy costs, however, stem from the necessity of transporting and feeding the large party which accompanies the groom's party to the bride's village, hiring the palanquin-bearers or taxi, as the case may be, and providing rice beer for all one's own villagers as well as food for many visitors and relatives from other villages. In a *DB* the groom's guardians may invite a few Hindu acquaintances, whose presence would enhance their Santal host's prestige. Hindus are seldom invited to other forms except occasionally to the second highest form. The total cost of a *DB* in 1957 was Rs. 800–1,500, or, at the going price for rice, 3,200–6,000 lbs.

177 184 583 That the highest, most expensive, and socially most exclusive form (*DB*) tends to be practiced only by the elite Santal, who are also the most Hinduized, is a reflection of the greater acculturation of the elite; it also reflects the general concession of rank to the Hindus, since all Santal regard the *DB* as the highest form.

583 [192] The second most expensive and prestigeful form of marriage ceremony is the *saṅge bạriạt* (*saṅge* = many; *bạriạt* = groom's party; Hindi: *barat* = groom's party). *SB* suggests by its name that like the *DB* it is an arranged marriage involving important and numerous people who accompany the groom to the village of the bride. In bride-price and other gifts and exchanges, it requires about the same expenditure as a *DB*; but since the number of people invited to partake of food and rice beer in both the groom's and bride's village is not so many as in a *DB*, and

583 since the groom is not borne on a palanquin accompanied by hired singers and dancers, the total cost is considerably reduced. The critical ceremonial difference is that, unlike the Hindu practice of the *DB*, the vermilion is applied in front of the house [178] of the groom. This difference, which holds for all the lesser forms as well, is indicative of the generally less Hinduized ritual of the non-*DB* forms. The total cost of an *SB* is Rs. 200–500, or 800–2,000 lbs. of rice.

[192] The least prestigeful and least expensive of arranged marriages is known as *ṭunki dipil* (*TD*) (*ṭunki* = small basket; *dipil* = carried on the head), "A Small Basket Carried on the Head," or *haṛam bariat*, "A Groom's Party of Old Men." Most Santal say that these two names refer to the same form, but a few insist that the latter is a slightly more elaborate form. For the purpose at hand it will be adequate to treat them as identical. The name "Small Basket Carried on the Head" suggests that the bride's possessions and gifts are so few as to be portable on her head; the name "A Groom's Party of Old Men" suggests that the groom's party consists only of a few old men. A *TD* is simply an attenuated form of *SB*, with vermilion similarly applied at the groom's home. The obligation to pay bride-price is weaker and payment is frequently postponed until long after the marriage ceremony; often the debt is never settled. The total cost of a *TD* is generally Rs. 25–100, or 100–400 lbs. of rice.

[192] In addition to the three forms of arranged marriage, and unlike their Hindu neighbors, the Santal have a legitimate traditional form of unarranged or "love marriage" known as *ńapam bapla* (*NB*), "To Meet or Come Together Marriage," or more simply as *ńapam* "To Meet or Come Together." In practice this form may include public announcement, bride-price, and a

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

• 583 small-scale celebration, or all these practices may be dispensed with. If ceremony, bride-price, etc., are included, the form is similar to an attenuated *TD*. Bride-price is often postponed and seldom paid. The cost is Rs. 0–75, or up to 300 lbs. of rice.

125 184 583 There are significant differences in the frequencies of these forms of marriage in the village as compared with the *bustee*. The samples drawn were often smaller than necessary to definitively establish conclusions; the sampling was done primarily to serve as a check on previously uncounted impressions. The results bore out those impressions, though in one case I had no anticipation of what the results would be. Considerable care, based on six months' prior experience, was taken to see that the questions asked of informants were ones they could answer accurately. The only data included here which is based on questions the informants could not answer accurately concern age and the precise number of years ago that any event occurred. It does not seem likely that such errors are particularly relevant to the trends which are reported and analyzed here. Cross checks were made to determine that answers given by informants were truthful and almost always they were found to be so. However, a half-dozen cases were eliminated because of doubt about the truth of information given or because of internal contradictions in the answers given.

Figures on marriage forms among Santal in the traditional setting, i.e., Santal living in villages and practicing agriculture at least until the time they married, are based on a sample of fifty Santal.* All of these lived in villages at least twenty-five

125 184 583 * Of this sample of fifty, thirty-one became industrial workers after marriage and nineteen remained agriculturalists. The thirty-one were interviewed in *bustees*, town *bustees*, and Jamshedpur. The fifty interviewed were not selected by a format random sampling method. We simply went house-to-house at various times and questioned anyone who was home; no one refused to give us the

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

125 miles away from Jamshedpur, the nearest major city. The fol-
184 lowing frequences of the different forms of marriage were ob-
583 tained from this sample:

DB	*SB*	*TD*	*NB*	*Total Number*
5 (10%)	20 (40%)	9 (18%)	16 (32%)	50 (100%)

182 Since the four varieties of marriage are graded in terms of cost,
434 it is reasonable to plot farmer's per capita income against mar-
583 riage form chosen to determine the degree to which income is associated with the form chosen. The figures given in Table 2 are in terms of maunds of husked paddy per person per year after taxation. A maund weighs approximately eighty lbs.

Converting these figures into percentages, one notes that eighty per cent of *DB* fall in the greater-than-thirty-maund category, eighty per cent of *SB* in the greater-than-ten-maund category, 55 per cent of *TD* in the greater-than-ten-maund category, and only twelve per cent of *NB* in the greater-than-ten-maund category. The association between marriage form and per capita income is obvious and consistent throughout. It suggests that per capita income is the largest single determinant of marriage-type choice.

182 Of the other possible countable determinants, the possibility
583 that having either a father or a mother alive at the time of
593 marriage might be significant was considered, since there were

---

information we requested. The same sampling procedure was used in the case of the *bustee* residents living in the *bustee* at the time of marriage. The nineteen were obtained from two villages in Mayurbhanj; fifteen of these were from Fanderkuta and the other four from the control village. In Fanderkuta the sample seemed ideal since data was obtained from every male in one "Section" (*tola* as in Hindi) of the village. However, over half of these informants had ultimately to be excluded from the sample since they had worked in surrounding mines prior to marriage.

125
184
583

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

TABLE 2

CHOICE OF MARRIAGE FORM BY FARMERS BY PER CAPITA INCOME

Maunds per capita	*Marriage Forms*				*Income Class Total*
	DB	*SB*	*TD*	*NB*	
0–10	0	4	4	10	18
11–20	0	11	3	3	17
21–30	1	5	1	2	9
31–40	2	0	1	0	3
41	2	0	0	1	3
Total Number of Marriages	5	20	9	16	50

a few cases of comparatively well-off Santal without parents who had had an *NB*, and who explained that there was no one to arrange a marriage for them. Among the fifty sampled there were only six whose parents were both dead at the time of marriage. There were only three cases in which the father was living at the time of marriage and the mother not, and there were twenty-one cases in which only the mother was alive; however, there were no significant differences in these cases. It was therefore concluded that having a parent alive is seldom a determinant of marriage-type choice and that it is not generally relevant which parent is alive.[4]

One other type of countable information had to be considered: whether there was a shift in frequency during the forty-four-year period 1913 to 1957 in which these marriages occurred. The assembled data indicate that there were no sig-

[4] It might be significant in the very expensive *DB* but my sample was too small to detect its relevance.

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

nificant shifts in frequency during this period, nor were there any appreciable changes in the distribution of per capita income.

Before considering comparable data from the *bustee*, it is necessary to examine other partial determinants of marriage-type choice so that a controlled comparison can be made. The most significant of these secondary determinants derives from the expectation by the Santal community that members of high standing will validate their status by arranging high forms of marriage—*DB* or *SB*—for their children. These marriages are the occasion for great "pleasure" and the villagers would feel deprived if their "big people" (*maraṅ hoṛ*) were to deny them this opportunity. Since inherited office confers prestige and is partially independent of wealth, it may be presumed, though adequate statistical evidence is lacking, that the holders of hereditary office often feel compelled to choose more expensive forms than income alone would dictate. In support of this contention is the observation that of the seven *DB* of which I have knowledge, all involved the marriage of a son of a hereditary village officer and one was the son of a headman. Although shared values and understandings are prominent determinants of marriage type, idiosyncratic differences such as the desire for prestige may occasionally prove decisive. "Accidents" of contact and personality may compel a young couple to enter into a "love marriage" (*NB*) against parental wishes. Finally, there is the Santal belief that the higher the form of marriage, the greater its chances of lasting. It is possible, therefore, that differences in desire for marriage stability are a factor in marriage form chosen.

From the *bustees* a sample of forty-seven was obtained, with the majority from Daredih and the rest from nearby *bustees*. All were industrial workers living in a *bustee* at the time of

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

125 184 583 marriage. They were selected by going house-to-house at various times and again no one refused to give us information. About 60 per cent of those Santal who come to Jamshedpur for industrial employment are unmarried when they arrive. The following frequencies of the different forms of marriage were obtained from this sample.

TABLE 3

CHOICE OF MARRIAGE FORM BY *BUSTEE* WORKERS

178 184 583

	DB	*SB*	*TD*	*NB*	*Total Number*	*Total Percentages*
	0 (0%)	6 (13%)	7 (15%)	34 (72%)	47	(100%)
RURAL FARM WORKERS						
	5 (10%)	20 (40%)	9 (18%)	16 (32%)	50	(100%)

A comparison of this data with that obtained from the village-farmer Santal shows a marked decrease in the more expensive and prestigeful *DB* and *SB* and a great increase in the cheapest and least prestigeful *NB* form, among *bustee* workers; this difference may also be regarded as a shift from arranged to unarranged marriages. If a Santal is going to have an arranged marriage of any grade, his parents or guardians must arrange it for him. The question therefore arises whether the shift to *NB* is primarily a choice made by parents or by the industrial workers who are their children. A number of lines of evidence, including the comments of workers, suggest that it is primarily their own option. While most Santal workers maintain a joint interest with their rural relatives in the family property and regularly send home some money and receive some rice, those workers who had arranged marriages

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

178 sent home at that time a larger portion of their income than
184 their fellows. Part of the money sent home was expended in
• 583 the celebration of arranged marriages, which for immigrant workers almost always take place in their native villages. The relatively large amount of money sent home by those who had arranged marriages reflects exceptionally strong ties with the native village; however, even most of these workers have subsequently reduced their rural contribution as their own nuclear-family requirements increased.

182 The crucial fact indicated by the following table is that if
434 one adds the industrial income of the workers at the time of
583 their marriage to the farm income of their rural families, the
184 combined per capita income is higher than that of the sample farmers. Since they must maintain separate households, these figures somewhat overstate available income for the workers. They clearly indicate, however, that the shift to *NB* cannot be attributed in any appreciable degree to lower income. Indeed even if one were to calculate per capita income of the *bustee* workers and their farming families solely on the rural income, the shift to *NB* could still not be accounted for simply by income.

Since those few migrant industrial workers who did have arranged marriages in fact sent home a large portion of their income before marrying, the inclusion of these resources in comparing marriage types seems realistic. Whereas farmers with per capita incomes of over ten maunds have only about 37% *NB*, 82% of the workers with similar income enter into such marriages. This comparison gives some indication of the degree to which the shift to *NB* runs counter to available income.

What must be explained is the shift away from the more

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF PER CAPITA INCOME OF *BUSTEE* WORKERS AND THEIR FARMING FAMILIES WITH THAT OF PREVIOUS FARMER SAMPLE

(Income Categories in Maunds Per Capita)*

	0–10	*11–20*	*20*	*Total*
Farmers	36	34	30	100%
Workers	21	34	45	100%

expensive and prestigeful arranged forms of marriage, especially the SB form, to the cheaper, less prestigeful unarranged *NB* in spite of increased per capita income. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that the primary cause cannot be new values gradually applied after taking up new employment. The key factors responsible are spatial separation from parents or guardians and an independent income. Although the *bustee* Santal maintains his connections with family in the native village and seldom requests a division of the land, his independent income provides him with the *de facto* opportunity to spend as he pleases. Physical distance from his kin frees him from their social control and the supporting authority of the villagers. The shift to *NB* by the *bustee* Santal may then be viewed partially as a decision not to share the major part of their income with their rural extended families. In the village they would not have the financial independence to make such a choice, nor would the social relations with kin and villagers permit such a choice even with a separate income if they continued to live in the village. This interpretation is corroborated

* Industrial cash income was converted into husked paddy according to the prevailing price of rice at the time of marriage and added to farm income in husked rice after taxation.

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

by data on marriage obtained from those factory workers for whom the bustee is the native village. Of five such individuals, all had arranged *SB* marriages and had poured the major share of their income prior to marriage into the family coffers. Hence, it takes migration plus the separate income derived from industrial employment to produce a shift to love marriage.

Given that the conditions of migration to industrial employment provide an opportunity for the prospective groom to choose what form of marriage he desires, the question of why he tends to choose the unarranged *NB* remains. The answer appears to be that migration to industrial employment makes marriage primarily a matter of individual concern. In a variety of ways it weakens bonds with extended family, local lineage, and village. Since the bride will not live in the household or the village of the groom's parents, i.e., his native village, neither the parents nor the villagers are so concerned with her. Furthermore, residence in the *bustee* which, as we shall see, is not so solidary as a village, does not facilitate the reciprocal visiting between kin and fellow villagers of the couple which would normally follow a marriage tie. Since migration to industrial employment weakens traditional bonds of solidarity, it not only gives the prospective groom an opportunity to choose an unarranged marriage; it also makes groom, bride, kinsmen, and fellow villagers less desirous of an arranged marriage. All those social ties which are so dramatically expressed in marriage ceremonies and which are consistent with arranged marriages are virtually inoperative for migrants to the *bustee*. Unarranged marriages thus considered are a result of decreased solidarity resulting from migration to industrial employment.

Other considerations may be partially responsible for the

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

178 shift to *NB*. The Santal themselves point to the urgency felt
184 by a new arrival in the *bustee* to get someone to cook and take
584 care of the house; but the fact that the mean length of time
• 583 immigrants spend in the *bustee* before marrying is 3.9 years and that only three of forty-seven are married within their first year of residence militates against this explanation. Any urgency that exists must be limited to the few immigrants who do not join the household of a married relative or friend, usually on a rent paying basis.

More important, freedom from parental and village restraint permits Santal men and women to meet each other and form liaisons. While this intermixing occurs to some extent even in traditional villages at festival and market time, women from moderately prosperous families have some difficulty escaping the watchful eyes of parents and kin. On the other hand, in the *bustee* no one is much interested in preventing liaisons, particularly if parents are not present. The resultant freedom is thus another manifestation of weakened ties with the traditional structure, ties which are not replaced by the *bustee*. Eighteen of the thirty-four *NB* marriages of the *bustee* Santal were contracted with working girls; it is probable that a large proportion of the remaining sixteen were with girls who were living in *bustees* while searching for work.

Evidence of one significant change emerged as an unanticipated consequence of the counting procedures used: between eleven and twenty-one years ago, about 64 per cent of the marriages in the *bustee* were *NB*, while in the period zero to ten years ago, 81 per cent were *NB*. Since per capita income was about the same during both these periods, it is possible that norms regarding marriage are gradually changing in the *bustee*.

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

177 What began as a shift resulting from migration to industrial
178 employment and consequent weakening of traditional social
184 bonds may have affected the norms by lessening the stigma of
• 583 low status traditionally associated with the *NB*.

584 If one may use the term "modernization" to designate those indigenous developments or borrowings which are patently adaptive or characteristic of industrial urban societies, the shift to unarranged marriages with attenuated ceremonial is an example of modernization. Thus, while industrial development and migration to industrial employment have in a number of ways weakened Santal solidarity, the modernization which it has encouraged has in some respects suggested cultural alternatives not characteristic of traditional Hindu society. Insofar as this has been true, modernization has contributed to the maintenance of distinctiveness and solidarity and thereby inhibited
[171] assimilation. Many aspects of modernization, however, are likely to be equally operative among Hindu and Santal, especially in the long run, so that the cultures are made more alike.*

The Decline of Ceremonies in Bustee *and City*

177 Even a casual observer might note that ceremonies in the
178 *bustee* as compared with those in the village are less well at-
184 tended and often attenuated. As for the city Santal, they prac-
796 tice no communal forms of worship like those traditionally performed at the "Sacred Grove" as long as they remain in the city; often they do not even perform ancestor worship in

[114] * Dr. Milton Singer called my attention to the significance of modernization with respect to my data on marriage and ceremonial and pointed out its significance in terms of acculturation and assimilation, though I am of course responsible for the form that his remarks have assumed above.

b. When a child is born out of wedlock.

In case a girl without being married gives birth to a child, her father and brothers inform the village headman and his deputy. These two call the village people together, and when they have gathered they ask the girl who is the father of the child. The village people then seize the man the girl names, and even if he denies responsibility, his word will not be accepted. 848

But if he is able to prove that other youngsters are also implicated, then the child is born in the bidhuạ-state[3]. If only one person is proved to be responsible, he will have to take the girl and keep her as his wife; but if two or three persons are proved to be implicated, they will have to pay some money; then they shave off the hair of the child's head in the name of the Jọg Mạńjhi (custos morum of the village), and the child gets his sept. Or if the Jọg Mạńjhi is a relative, they will shave off the head-hair in the name of the Jọg Paranik (the deputy custos morum) or of any man in the village. Of the money that the young men have paid, the child's mother will get some, to nurse the child until it gets strong; the man in whose name they shave off the head-hair gets some, and the village people get the rest of the money. If the child's mother is unable to name anyone as father, then also the child becomes a bidhuạ, if the male relatives of the girl are unable to buy a man to stand as a husband for her. But if they are able to buy her a husband, the child will get this one's sept, and they shave off the head-hair of the child in his name. To buy a husband the male relatives of the girl will have to pay twenty rupees. This money the man who stands as husband gets. If they are unable to procure a husband, they will shave off the head-hair for the child as a bidhuạ in the name of the village Jọg Mạńjhi or his deputy, or of any man in the village, and the child will get this man's sept. At this time the male relatives of the child's mother will have to pay, and the man in whose name they shave off the child's head-hair will get the money. Formerly, before money was introduced, one pair of bullocks, one cow with calf (in milk) and one bundle of paddy had to be paid. This the man who stands as husband gets. [583]

If a Santal man has had illicit intercourse with a girl of another race, or a Santal girl with a man of another race, and a child is born, in this case we outcaste such ones for life, and such people will run away from among us. [563]

c. Caco chạṭiạr, the ceremony when a Santal is given full social rights.

There is no fixed time for the caco chạṭiạr[4], only that it must be performed before marriage, and children cannot be married unless they have gone through this ceremony. When a man has a number of children, he will have this act performed with 881

[3] The Santal word, bidhuạ, is used about one who has no recognized father. [4] Caco is the Santal word for toddling, a child's first successful attempt to walk. As the name implies, the caco chạṭiạr may be performed with a child, as soon as it is able to move about. [192]

4 Cato Etc. Mus. — Bedding.

585 184 The customary dues are as in a marriage with parties; eating and drinking and beer are also in the same way. After having had food and drink the bridegroom's party bring the bride to the bridegroom's home. Three brothers of the bride and a duenna go along with the girl. For "finishing the painting" and for "fireplace damages" nothing has to be given. The applying of sindur is done in the house of the bridegroom. Here they also act as customary at a marriage with parties. In connexion with taking the pair away and back again it is also as in other marriages.

h. Ghạrdi jāwāe[62] (house son-in-law).

583 People who have no son, or whose sons are small and not fit to do any work, such people keep house sons-in-law, when they have grown up daughters; and only a poor man or an orphan will stay as a house son-in-law. House sons-in-law have no brideprice or expenses to pay, nor have they any customary dues to give; the expenses are all on the girl's side. The marriage is performed for them like for other people. They serve for the bride five years with their father-in-law. They do not get any wages, only food and clothes. When they take in a house son-in-law, they show him a calf. If before the five years are gone, the girl does not pull together with her husband, he goes away taking the calf with him. At the time when the two are married the father gives also the girl a calf. And for five years she gets her reaping perquisites, and this paddy she gives out on interest to somebody. When five years have passed, they will, if they are pleased, stay on, getting wages; if not, they leave.

[428] And if a girl's parents have no male children, and if the house son-in-law and his wife will take care of and feed the two (parents) until death, the two will get the house and household, all the agricultural and other land, and they will get half the cattle; the other half the brothers (or cousins) of the girl's father will get. The ghạrdi jāwāe and his wife have to bear the expenses in connexion with the final funeral ceremonies. If there are two or three house sons-in-law, they divide.

i. The marriage of widowers, widows, and divorced ones.

587 [539] Widowers are not liked; therefore (girls) will not quickly agree to be married to such ones. They say: "As a widower snarled"; "a widower a worn-out broom, scraping, scraping, who will be fool enough to agree to be married to such a one"?

Divorced men are not liked either. They say: "A divorced man, a fickle fellow, who knows for how many days."

They also put blame on widows. They say: "A widow, a stallion, neighing, neighing."

Divorced girls are especially blamed. They say: "A divorced girl, the head of a maena, smooth, smooth"; "a divorced girl, a green Bulbul bird, they cry in a thousand ways";

[62] See Dictionary s. v.

"a divorced girl, a decoy partridge, they are leading astray"; "a divorced girl, a cọḍgọć[84] fish, they do not remain in one place". 587

If a widower or a divorced man marries a spinster, her parents will take a brideprice of five or seven rupees for good, that is to say, the bridegroom does not get anything in return. The marriage is performed as between bachelor and spinster. [539]

Formerly bachelors did not marry widows or divorced women, and also nowadays this is not in accordance with the rule; still nowadays a few men marry such persons, because the age has become depraved. Those who marry a widow or a divorced woman have to pay only half the brideprice, and the Jọg Mạńjhi gets eight annas as marriage fee. The village headman gets nothing. Cloth for the mother, cloths for the grandmothers there is nothing of, and presents and the like are absent also; there is no bathing and hair-washing, no going and coming either. This is no real marriage, we call it a temporary hire. The name of such a marriage is saṅgha. The bridegroom does not apply sindur to the bride. Applying sindur to a flower, he with his left hand sticks this into the bride's hair. This is saṅgha (marrying a widow or divorced woman). No feast has to be given either, the bridegroom gives only a couple of people some beer.

Girls who get a child while being spinsters they call cupi chạḍwi, tail-divorced. Any one who marries such a girl, pays a brideprice as for a divorced girl. But the marriage is performed as a marriage with a spinster. 848

j. Running in.

If in any village a young man and a girl have become of one mind, the girl will inform the Jọg Mạńjhi of this. Having found out what the young man wishes, the Jọg Mạńjhi takes the girl into the house of the young man's parents. A couple of days afterwards the parents tell the village headman. They come together and have a talk. They ask the girl and the young man what they intend. If these two say they are willing and agree, they separate them and fix a day for the marriage. The village community gets five four-anna bits. The marriage is performed like other marriages. 583

If any young man and girl have sexual intercourse, and the young man afterwards is unwilling to marry her, the girl will run in to the young man, forcing her way in. If the young man professes to marry her, in this case their marriage is performed as with the above run-in girl. But if the young man will not agree to marry her, he will in accordance with the decision of the village council have to pay the girl three rupees, and the village council will fine the father of the young man and the father of the girl each five four-anna bits. When the girl has got the money, the Jọg Mạńjhi will take her to the house of her parents. 583 836

[84] Ophiocephalus gachua, Ham. Buch.

2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

k. Forcibly applying sindur.

583 To apply sindur to any girl without cooperation of the village community is called iputut. This is of two kinds. Sometimes a young man will apply sindur to a girl with her knowledge and consent, and sometimes they apply the sindur without right or reason. If a young man and a girl wish it, and they have agreed, while the parents of the girl are unwilling to bestow her on the young man, then the young man will forcibly apply sindur to the girl, after the two have talked together and decided on it. If a young man has fallen in love with a girl, and he has doubts: who knows whether they will bestow her on me or not, or whether the girl will be pleased with me or not, then the young man will apply sindur to the girl without telling her and without giving any warning. And sometimes it also happens that they defile a girl in anger, to make her become a divorcee.

[775] People say, it is told, that only the spinsters they marry will they get in the next world — but not widows or divorcees —; therefore it sometimes happens when a man's first wife is a widow or a divorcee, that in order to get a wife in the next world, he will marry or apply forcibly sindur to a spinster, whether he afterwards keeps her as his wife or not; he has made way for himself in the next world.

When a young man is going to apply sindur forcibly to a girl, he puts sindur in a leaf in a fold of his cloth, and going to a place where they fetch water or to a plain where the hook-swinging or some other festival is going on, he without warning smears the sindur on the girl's forehead. If he has no sindur, it may be done also with earth or lime. Also during a festival or when they are fetching leaves and firewood or leaves, they forcibly apply sindur to

[586] a girl. If a girl has got sindur forcibly applied to her, she has, according to the law, become the wife of the man who did it. And if she does not stay with him, she becomes a divorcee.

When a young man has forcibly applied sindur to a girl, he will at once run away, fearing that the father and male relatives of the girl will thrash him. When the father and male relatives of the girl get to know that sindur has been forcibly applied to her, they become furious, and calling the village people together they go with bows and arrows to the young man's house to "follow the bloody tracks"[60]. First they go to the headman of that village and tell him. He says to them: Please act for us in accordance with custom. They then enter the young man's courtyard and beat every single water-pot into pieces, and entering the house they break their cooking vessels and the fireplace to pieces and scatter them, and if they find the young man there, they bind him and beat him, so that he lies there done for, they leave him only his life, — thereupon they lay him down in the middle of the courtyard and go to hunt for castrated goats or pigs. If they find goats, they kill two with a battle-axe, and if pigs, they shoot and kill two with bow and arrow. Thereupon they go to the cattle-herd to seize some cattle. They drive some three pairs

[60] A common expression used about the forcible application of sindur to a girl, is that a leopard has clawed her; this may be another way of showing their attitude towards the act.

of the very best bullocks or buffaloes to the house of the village headman, and the two killed castrated animals they also take there. 583

The village headman now calls the village people together to a council meeting, and they judge in the matter. They follow the matter up, to find out how it happened. They then also send a couple of men to the girl's home and ask her whether it was with her consent or forcibly that the young man applied sindur to her, and they take with them also from the girl's home a castrated animal (goat or pig). The three castrated animals the people of both sides eat, and the cattle the headman of the young man's side and the village council give in charge to the village headman of the girl's side, until the father of the young man pays the fine money. The girl's father gets sixteen rupees without giving anything in return, whether the young man gets the girl or not. And the headman of the young man's village gets five rupees from the father of the young man. This they call the head-saving rupees. Formerly they have sometimes beaten such a young man to death on account of the crime of forcibly applying sindur to a girl. And this they did not take up for inquiry. The village headman stands to shelter the young man; therefore he gets the money. Of these five rupees the headman gives two rupees to his village people as their share. A girl that has got sindur applied to her they, with a few exceptions, give in marriage to the young man. They afterwards marry the two over again as at the marriage of bachelor and spinster. And if they do not bestow the girl on the young man, she becomes a divorcee. [178]

1. About getting a second wife.

In bygone days they were living satisfied with only one wife; none had two wives. And also nowadays, if they out of licentiousness get two or three wives, they do not call this good; and there are very few such people. But if a man's wife does not get children, then the husband may, both of them agreeing, take a co-wife. The first wife rules the household. And if the elder brother of the husband dies, then his younger brother can, even if he has a wife, keep his sister-in-law as a wife, and they do this in order that the children may not be alienated. And this they do not deem bad. But if some one's younger brother dies, then an elder brother cannot keep this one's wife. A younger brother's wife they honour equal to a bonga, — they do not even touch their bedsteads. 595

Those who commit the fault of getting two wives, will afterwards reap the fruit of this, because a first wife and a co-wife will not live in peace. People say: "A co-wife, needle pricks, they prick"; "a co-wife, ebony firewood, crackles"; "a co-wife, a hen with just hatched out chickens, at loggerheads, they are not reconciled"; "a first wife, kicked in going, kicked in coming, they will endure it"; "co-wives make a dull sound with a wooden slab rapping with the feet"; "a co-wife, the itching of the etka[66], cannot be endured". [539]

[66] Mucuna pruriens, DC., produces an intense itching.

[1] Oslo Etn. Mus. – Budding.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

4. Maternal uncle

In ceremonial functions, the maternal uncle takes the place of the guardian of the house, if the father or the brothers be dead. Thus the father stands first, next the paternal uncle, the maternal uncle holds the third place. The maternal uncle gets a marriage-present called *mama pòn* (bride-price, to be paid to the maternal uncle in case the father is not living).

5. Son-in-law

During certain *pujas*, the son-in-law of the family sacrifices goats, and during marriages he holds the basket of the bride (*dàurà*).[1]

As regards the mutual behaviour of relations, the Santals do not very much differ from the Hindus. Thus the mother is respected just according to Hindu ideologies. The brothers have friendly and fraternal feelings, and sisters are affectionately treated. The wife respects her husband like her lord. They have a folk-song which will illustrate the point further :—

Niṅgàñ nàpuñ sàri cando barabàri
Gateñ tuluc' tòkòe barabarik';

1. Bàhu dàurà = A specially large basket in which a bride is raised shoulder high at the time the bride-groom applies the red-paint (sindur) to her forehead, Dr. Campbell's Dictionary, p. 139.

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

to a man, on the death of the man, such a domesticated daughter's husband has no rights. If a Santal dies leaving such a son-in-law who again loses his wife, the property goes to the agnates of his father-in-law. 428 606

Partition

Partitions, in Mayurbhanj, follow the *Mitakshòra* branch of Hindu law, but the parties to a partition, in most cases, voluntarily allow a bigger share to the eldest brother or to his heirs, as *Iyasthangshò* (the share of the eldest brother). 428 [777]

Legal status of Santal women 562

In Mayurbhanj: The legal status enjoyed by Santal women in Mayurbhanj can be described as follows:—

(1) If a married man has no child, he can marry again according to Santal customary law. Bride-price is paid in both cases. [587] [583]

(2) If a man has more than one wife, even if some of them might be called *rakhni* (mistress, lit. a kept woman) they inherit equally. [595] [428]

(3) A man can marry as many wives as he likes, but a woman cannot have more than one husband at a time. [595]

(4) *Punchayets* as well as law-courts will give relief to the wife, even if called "*rakhni*," who is deserted by her husband or not given maintenance. [586] [736]

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

562 178 are observed in practice to exercise a position in the domestic life, which rightfully belongs to the housewife in the western sense of the term. Moreover, [177] education, contact with the liberalising tendencies of the west filtered through the Missionaries and of the *Dekos* (non-Santals), have to a large extent softened the rigidity of old tribal laws to more and more advanced ideals.

• 583 The pivot of the woman's existence, according to the Santal, depends on her marriage. But to marry her one must buy her with a price. This bride-price, *Gònòñ*, as the Santal calls it, is as essential in a Santal marriage as the *Saptapadi* is to the Hindu, or the eating together from the same plate to the Burmese. So the legal corollary is that the husband is the 'owner' of his wife as a parcel of property.

586 583 The courts present interesting cases of Santal divorce when the settlement of the bride-price becomes the most important factor in the decree. Should the woman be proved the guilty party, the bride-price has got to be returned to the injured husband. If the woman is proved on evidence to be erring, and adultery is proved against her, the co-respondent must pay a double *Gònòñ* (bride-price) to the husband of the woman. But if the man is the offending party, his bride-price is forfeited.

3i Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

is not far to seek. The Santal tenant has, as a member of his tribe, certain duties religious and social, but the woman for the reason of her sex, is not allowed to perform them. 562 423

But we have human feelings to count. There are fond fathers who want their daughters to be provided with lands, and there are others who may have no sons but only daughters. In the latter case all the lands of the deceased Santal tenant will go to the next of his kin. An interesting method has long existed in Santal customary law to get rid of this position for providing the daughter with lands. 562 423 428

Such a father gives his daughter in marriage to a *ghardi jan*wane (domesticated son-in-law). He is a son-in-law invested with the position of a son of the family. He does not pay for his bride in cash. He serves it out in the house of his father-in-law, and thus pays by his work, generally for a period of five years. On the expiry of this term, he is free to leave his father-in-law's house. 562 423 428 606 [583]

The son-in-law in this case is not allowed by tribal customs to anything but his wife. After the death of his parents-in-law, he is not himself the inheritor. He is, in the eye of law and fact, merely the conduit-pipe for the provision of the children of the marriage. He does not become an heir by the mere fact of marriage. If it is intended that the *ghardi jan*wane will inherit, this has got to be speci-

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

majority of Santal sociologists into thinking that fraternal polyandry may have once existed amongst the tribe. A corresponding custom is noticed which permits a wife to admit her younger sister into intimate relations with her husband, and if untoward consequences follow, the scandal is avoided by a formal marriage, *Hirom Cetan* (marriage while a co-wife exists).[2]

1. *Orthodox Marriage*

Various kinds of marriages are permitted by the tribe. Now we shall discuss the ceremonials attending them. The first form that deserves mention is the regular marriage, called *Adi* or *Duar Itut Sindur Bapla* in Mayurbhanj. It is the same as what Risley mentions as "*Bapla* or *Kering Bàhu*," literally "bride-purchase," or what Dr. Campbell names as "*Kiriñ Bàhu Bapla*." This system, the most orthodox, is really a marriage arranged by the elders of the family, without necessarily an element of pre-marital love between the couple.

Selection of Bride

Now, suppose a householder wants a suitable bride for his son, he will have a confidential chat with some of his friends about the suitable girls of

2. Risley, *People of India*, App. VIII.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

584 574 and she (bride) makes *johar* (salutation) to all superiors present.

A rupee, some sun-dried rice, "Dhubi ghans," (a common grass, *Cynodon Dactylon*, Pres; Bengali, *durba* grass) placed on a *sal*-leaf, are then held by the go-between on behalf of the bridegroom's father. Next, it is handed over to the Headman of the bride's village, after which it is inspected by the village-elders and the women (of the bride's village). Then it is presented to the bride's father by the Headman. This ceremony is called *hòròk' chinà ţakacal* (lit. to wear a sign of betrothal).

The members of the party now have a hearty drink of rice-beer, while the bride, sitting on the lap of her prospective mother-in-law, is rubbed all over with oil and turmeric paste. Next, the bride is affectionately made to wear the ornaments presented. Now, the Headman addresses both the parties with a nice little speech implying that the knot is now firmly tied between the couple and neither of them may marry elsewhere. The leaders of both the parties repeat his words as they reply "No, they cannot marry any one else."

The bridegroom's party now returns home. [583] After some time, the go-between (*raebaric'*) will again visit the house of the bride's father, sounding him as regards the sum of money it is their custom to take as bride-price, the number of cloths and

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

heads of cattle they require as incidental presents to the bride's family, and the date that would suit them for the marriage ceremony. These being satisfactorily settled, the final date is fixed; the intervening number of days being shown in knots in a rope (*Bapla Gira*). Thereafter, one knot is loosened each night and when there are none, it is the day for marriage.

Rates of Bride-price (gònòn)

Here, some observations as regards the rates of bride-price may prove interesting. Generally speaking, the rate of money payment for buying a bride varies between rupees three to rupees twelve in some quarters. In the Santal Parganas, rupees five is taken to be the average. But at Mayurbhanj, we were faced with two practices, the one insisted on fixed rates as rupees three or five, seven or twelve, whereas, others were disposed to be more elastic as regards any such fixity and even ready to pay more, if financially capable.[1]

As regards the ceremonial presents to the bride's party, if the bride's parents are alive, her father and brother will receive a he-calf each. If her paternal

1. In the Sadar subdivision, Mayurbhanj, bride-price goes up to R. 12. In Bamanghati and Barsai, we gathered, the sum paid does not exceed R. 3.

St Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

584 43 uncle demands the present of a calf, he has, according to custom, to present in return some ornaments to his niece together with some utensils.

• 583 584 43 Should, however, the bride's father receive so low a price as rupees three for his daughter, we are told that he need not pay anything to the bridegroom or to the village elders on both sides. If, however, he (bride's father) receives or demands big sums like rupees five or twelve, he has to pay the bridegroom various returns in the shape of presents. During our enquiries at Mayurbhanj, one such specific instance came to our notice. This practice is not, however, uniform. Here the bride's father who received rupees twelve as *gònòñ* (*bride-price*) had to present the married couple, two bullocks, a ploughshare, a yoke, a dog, a cat, a maid servant and other utensils and ornaments.

584 431 There are curious customs regarding the presents of cloths by the bridegroom to his bride's family. One such called, *Boñga Sari*, fourteen cubits in length, has got to be presented to his grand-mother-in-law, even if she happens to be dead. The next one, called *Ma Sari* (twelve cubits), goes to his mother-in-law, dead or alive. Custom has slackened a bit with regard to *Boñga Sari*, should the grand-mother-in-law be dead, but *Ma Sari* is always insisted upon as compulsory. The next cloth, *Hora* (eight cubits), is meant as a present to the bride's

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

valent Hindu forms. Many of the ceremonials as the application of vermilion to the bride's forehead, have been traced directly to Hindu influences. This *sindur dan* or *sindrà dan* is a remnant of the primitive custom of mixing the blood of the husband and wife, which they either drank or daubed themselves with, as a symbol of an eternal union. As it is a queer problem to discover whether the egg came first or the hen was first, ethnologists have in their turn, traced Dravidian influences in the custom. Similarly, the marriage with a *mòhua* tree, the race of the husband and wife while at the ceremony, called *Kado ghata*, have their parallel in the customs of the Hindus of the Central belt.

II. LOVE MARRIAGE

(1) Raja Raji

The freedom of social intercourse that the Santals allow to their boys and girls, naturally leads to many love-marriages ; but the Santals, even when in love, have to go through certain formalities before living as man and wife. So we see that when a couple feel the urge for matrimony, they go to the house of the village Headman and inform him of their desire. The Headman now will take them to the house of the lover and there, in the presence of the village elders, the beloved is asked

3s Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

formally as to whether she is a consenting party. If the bride answers in the affirmative, a day is fixed for the marriage when vermilion is appplied on the bride's forehead. In this case, it is not necessary to go through all the formalities of the orthodox marriage.

An alternative form of *Raja Raji* is seen in marriages resulting from the boy and girl's elopement and living together as man and wife. Generally such run-away couples are traced and brought home, when, as in the previous case, the Headman seeks the opinion of the bride and the marriage is solemnised with the application of vermilion.

(2) Hurkatara (or *Itut*, marriage by forcible application of vermilion.)

This form of marriage, also called *Itut*, is essentially a marriage by capture. If a boy finds that the girl he has set his heart upon, is not easily going to accept him, he takes a handful of vermilion or even reddish dust, and applies it by force on her forehead at a public place, as a market or a village fair, and drags her home with the help of his friends. Now, search parties trace out the kidnapped girl. The village headman with the elders assemble and question her if she came there of her own free will or was carried off by force.

3s Mukherjee O. Y-4, 8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

583 Her answer may be an affirmation or a denial ; but in any case, she has, according to tribal laws, got to be married to her captor and a date is fixed and the bride-price settled. It is to be noted, however, that the payment of bride-price is a compulsory item in such marriages, whereas in love marriages it is optional. A special fine also is levied on the kidnapper, which goes to the village elders for their feasts and drinks. Such marriages [584] are quite valid in the eye of tribal law, and should the girl refuse to live with the boy, even then she must be formally divorced, so as to marry another.

Various reasons prompt Santals to have recourse to this method. Sometimes it is done to humiliate a girl in the public eye ; while there are instances, cited during our investigation at Mayurbhanj, of such girls found to be secret consenting parties to their capture, when they found their parents opposed to the alliance.

583 (3) Baha Dor Bapla

583 One of the most unsophisticated of human
585 marriages can be seen in the Santal form of *Baha Dor Bapla*, thought by some to be the original Santal ceremony, which supposes a marriage to be a completed one, if a boy and a girl run to the jungle, garland each other, and on their return shut them-

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

selves in a room, when they are *ipso facto* considered to be married.

583 585

(4) Jhàri Pani

A yet another form of love-marriage is humorously enough called *Jhàri Pani* (diluted rice beer), which results from the cohabitation of a couple under the influence of drinks at a beer-shop.

583

(5) Kiring Janwane

This is a form of marriage, which takes place when a girl becomes quick with child as the result of a liaison with a man of her own clan. As a way out of the tribal taboo, some one is procured "to accept the post of a husband, and in consideration of his services gets two bullocks, a cow, a quantity of paddy from the family of the man by whom the girl was made pregnant. The Headman then calls the villagers together and in their presence, declares the couple to be man and wife and enjoins the girl to live with, and be faithful to, the husband that has been provided for her."[1]

848 583 [585]

III. SANGA (*Widow marriage*)

587

(1) The Santals, like the other Muṇḍà tribes, have the institution of widow marriage by widow-

1. Ref. Risley, *People of India*, App. VIII, p. clxii.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

587 ers, and in rare cases by bachelors too. Generally, the prospective bridegroom secures the consent of the widow of his choice through an intermediary, and thereafter, she has got to declare her formal consent before the elders of the tribe, on the eve of the formal marriage. In such marriages, the bride-price is quite negligible, and generally it is half of the *Asli* (orthodox marriage), if not less. No vermilion is applied directly by the bridegroom, but the mere sticking of a *Dimbu* (*Ocimum Basilicum*, var. *thrysiflorum*, Linn.) flower in the bride's hair with his left hand, after smearing it with vermilion, serves as the substitute.

587
583 (2) Nir Bòlòk' (*Intrusion marriage*)

In this interesting form called by Risley, "the female variety of forcible marriage", the widow, unable to hook the man of her choice, takes a pot of rice-beer and begins to live in the house of the puzzled man of her choice. The people of the house, thus trespassed upon, try various means to get rid of her; even by enveloping the air near about her with fumes of red-chilli on fire. But if her love is strong enough to stand these ordeals, she wins the day, and the family is deemed to be in duty bound to accept her as the bride. Customary law has its sense of humour, for, we hear, no price need be paid for such a bride who is thus admitted

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1935-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

to wifehood with the man of her choice, the mere sticking of a flower in the knob of her hair, as in the *Sanga* marriage, being considered sufficient. 587 583

IV MINOR MARRIAGES

Added to these, there are various minor forms of marriage amongst the Santals. 583

(1) Golanṭi or Golaneṭi[1].

Such marriages, mentioned by Dr. Campbell, take place when two families each having a marriageable son and a daughter, each marries his daughter to the other's son. This is a convenient form of marriage and, as a rule, presents are dispensed with.

(2) Ghàrde Janwane.

This is a form of marriage, gone through when the father of a girl wants his daughter to live in his house even after her wedlock. No bride-price need be paid ; and the husband is expected to live with his father-in-law for five years in lieu of the payment. On the expiry of this term, he is at liberty to move freely, on the receipt of the present of a pair of bullocks, some food-stuff and some implements for agriculture. [591]

---

1. Ref. page 215, Dr. Campbell's *Santali to English Dictionary*.

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

831
533
539

When I remember (him), I cannot tie up the loose knot of my hair,
The knot is loose, I cannot bind it.
I fill up the pitcher and place it on my thigh,
But I feel no inclination to put it on my head.
O Love, my dear boy, is not a good thing at all.

583
533
539

A second song refers to a lad and a lass who cannot marry, as their parents like the Capulets and the Montagues were in enmity. They are out to leave their village for an unknown destination in the rainy season and come across a river in full-flood. The girl sings:

Cet baisakh neṇḍa babu ja,
Asar san japut' relañ noṛòk akan do
Làuṛiàdo cet lañemaya?,

The boy replies:

Nam reañ rupa sankha, iñ reak' ṭòḍòr
Làuṛiàdo lañemaya, enrchò bidesh telañ òḍoñ calak'ge.

(Translated)

Girl: We appointed a time (for elopement) in Cet or Baisakh,
During Asar and Sravan rains we two have come out.
What fare shall we pay to the ferry-man?,

B Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

583
583
533
539

Boy: The silver ornaments on your wrists,
the bracelets of silver on my hand,
We shall give to the ferry-man; even then we
two shall go away to foreign countries.

The dawn of romance

832
836
[124]

It may be interesting at this stage to record the evidence of a middle-aged Santal, who in reply to our questions gave a detailed description of the dawn of love and its working in the hearts of Santal boys and girls, although, we are afraid, there will be some overlapping in the treatment of the subject.

He said, "The first thing that a Santal boy and girl have when meeting together is, what is called, "Bepengete kusi" (the meeting of the eyes, *Coksha Priti*, as termed in Sanskrit). Being thus attracted by the eyes, they have two or three glances when they arrive at an understanding. The boy wants to meet the girl who could fascinate him thus." He corroborated that a medium is now selected by the boy, being either his grand-mother, elder brother's wife or an aunt, real or by village-courtesy, and presents are conveyed with his messages of love. "The meeting," he added, "may take place at dances like the "Lagre," when the infatuated youth goes behind the circle where his beloved is dancing and stretches forth his right hand forward,

[602]

[535]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

596 and grandchildren, which is equivalent to the Hindu "Joint family". The Maori calls it "Whanau" (meaning extended family or family group) which corresponds to the German "Gross familie".

582
562
59 The family is broken up by marriage when the daughters by the law of exogamy go to another clan.
[614] Up to the time of their marriage the daughters are the property of their fathers or the nearest male relatives (if the father is dead), who take charge of them ; when married, they come under control of the family of their husbands (with these as their immediate lords and masters) and this they continue to be so long as there is any one who has a right over them. If such a state
[736] ceases, they have no longer any locus standi ; they revert to their original relatives, if they are alive or become sort of guardianless minors, if none such exist they become utterly destitute except for what people may give them or what they may be able to earn through their work. It can be seen that the sons sometimese stablish their own home, when they have got their own family. But ordinarily the sons with their wives live with their father and mother.

591 **Ghardi-Jawae** : There is a third type, in which
• 583 the son-in-law is taken as a son in the father-in-law's
606 family. If in a Santal family there is no son but only a daughter, they marry their daughter off and give the son-in-law the position of a son, provided he lives with his father-in-law. If in a family there are grown-up daughters and minor sons, the son-in-law works for his father-in-law without wages for five years. He then gets two buffaloes, some rice and some agricultural

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

591
583
606

implements, and sets up a house for himself and his wife. This sort of son-in-law is called Ghardi-jawae.

596
[594]

Family not Polyandrous: In the individual family the father is the *pater familias*, whereas in the other type the grandfather or any senior male member is head in every respect; other members, however senior they may be in age, must remain under his authority. In the Santal family all the brothers marry different wives (monogamous) which can be verified from the genealogical trees of the different Santal families. It is not like the normal Toda family which consists of a number of brothers—brothers with one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind and is handed on to the children of the brothers (Rivers' Toda, p. 559).

595

[171]

595
601

There are no different terms of kinship for the father, father's brother, as also for mother and father's brother's wife which would not have happened, if there had been polyandry—

(Toda)	Father	...	In (aia).
,,	Father's brother	...	,,
,,	Mother	...	Av (ava)
,,	Father's brother's wife	...	,,

595
601
171

A consideration of terms of kinship of the Santals side by side with that of the Todas shows that the terminology of the Santals is cast in the same way as amongst the Todas. The terms for father and the father's brother are the same, the only difference being marked by the addition of descriptive words like Gongo (elder) or Hopen (younger); so also the terms for

584 and cymbals, and embrace each other. Then the bride's party comes back to their village.

After a few days the same ceremony is repeated in the bride's house. The bridegroom's party comes to the bride's house and the furture father-in-law takes the girl and seats her on his thigh and gives her a solid brass necklet and kisses her.

583 [178] **Takachal (Payment of Bride-Price):** Generally the bride's father demands twelve rupees now a days. This bride-price is divided between the following persons :—

Father of the bride gets	Rs. 3/-
Mother of the bride gets	Rs. 5/-
Mother's mother gets	Rs. 2/-
Father's mother gets	Rs. 2/-

The brother of the bride will get from the bride-groom a bull, if the bridegroom's father fails to give the bull then he pays Rs. 2 in exchange. The headman of the bride's village gets from the father of the groom one rupee. From that rupee the headman pays annas eight to the bariatko (those who follow the [178] bridegroom to the bride's house). Previously there was a custom to give rice and Pachawee and not cash.

584 585 The next function is to fix the day for marriage. The Santals give their sons and daughters in marriage generally in the month of Baisakh and Phalgun. It is their custom not to marry their children in the month 584 of birth. Through the Raibar the bridegroom's father 585 sends a string with a number of knots on it. The 211 number of knots indicates the number of days. The father of the bride therefore getting the string understands that the bridegroom's father wants to fix his son's marriage as many days afterwards as the string

1 [Erratum: this should read "future." Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

585 [593] a horizontal stroke. This part is the most important of the whole function of the marriage ceremony. Then paddy and grain are showered over her.

Then the wedding feast begins. The Jogmanjhi who is in charge of this makes the food ready which consists of goat's flesh, pork, fowl, boiled rice and large earthen pots filled with pachawee. All the villagers, both male and female, young and old, eat to their heart's content.

Next day the bride and bridegroom and a few female relatives of the bride come back to the house of the bridegroom. The female relatives remain there with the bride that night. Next day after a good feast they come back to their village. To all the villagers of the bridegroom's party he gives a feast which ends the marriage ceremony.

587 **Sanga Bapla** :—In this form of marriage the divorced woman or widow is married with a widower. This type of marriage may be compared with the Nika system of the Muhamedans. Here the bridegroom and the bride settle the marriage negotiation and mostly the male takes the initiative. In this marriage the bride price is very nominal, a new sari is given to the bride by the bridegroom. On the appointed day of the marriage the bridegroom comes to the bride's house accompained by his father (if he is alive) and a few co-villagers. The binding ceremony of the Santal marriage is the Sindurdan ; which here is done not by applying Sindur directly on the parting of the hair of bride by the bridegroom, but instead he smears a dimbu flower with vermilion and fixes it in the bride's coiffure. A feast is then arranged.

[583]

Kudam Bapla: If a girl becomes pregnant, the young man by whom she becomes so is bound to marry her. The procedure for this kind of marriage is as follows :— 584 848 [836]

The young man informs the Jogmanjhi of his offence and the girl confesses to the wife of the Jogmanjhi. Then the Jogmanjhi informs the headman of the village and also the parents on both sides. The bridegroom pays twelve rupees and a bull for the bride-price. The Jogmanjhi then takes this couple to the house of the bridegroom's parents with the headman and some other villagers. There they fix the date of the marriage. Then on a fixed day in the house of bridegroom the latter applies vermilion to the forehead of the bride; the bridegroom at the time of applying vermilion stands facing West and the bride facing East. [583]

Kiring-jawae: If the couple belongs to the same sept, the headman of the village calls for a Panchayat, and the decision of the Panchayat will always be negative i.e. no marriage will take place. The boy's father has to bear the expenses of the marriage of the girl to another man. Then the headman of her village arranges her marriage with a boy from a far off village. Here the bridegroom gets a cow and some money from the father of the guilty a boy andhis name is always kept secret. The ceremony is performed by placing the bride on a plate and the bridegroom applies vermilion on the parting of the hair of the bride and a feast is then given to the villagers. 584 848 614 [583]

Ghardi-Jawae Marriage: This kind of marriage is resorted to when a girl is the only child of her parents. When a man has minor sons and grown-up daughter 583

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

583 he procures a ghardi-jawae to get help in his agricultural work. When a girl is ugly or deformed and there is no prospect of her being asked in marriage in the ordinary way, this form of marriage takes place.
584 Usually a man seeks a wife for his sons; here it is the opposite. All expenses of marriage are borne by the father of the girl. At an ordinary marriage the bridegroom's friends are called bariatko; here it is the friends of the bride that are called so. In this kind of marriage the bridegroom pays nothing for his bride but lives with his father-in-law and works for him without wages for five years. At the time of marriage the girl's parents give the young man a calf. This becomes his personal property. The girl also gets a calf at the time of marriage. She is further permitted to get "arpa", i.e., reap a few sheaves of paddy for herself. If a man wishes his ghardi-jawae to become his heir this has to be specially arranged and publicly declared and such is done at the time of marriage. When a man procures a ghardi-jawae to get help in his agricultural work, in such cases the girl's father sets aside a bit of land for this ghardi-jawae and helps him to get additional land. When the five years of service are over, the ghardi-jawae is free to depart.

585 583 On the appointed day of the marriage the bridegroom with some important persons of his village comes to the house of the bride. As soon as the bridegroom arrives, the father of the bride calls the headman and the jogmanjhi and a few others. In their presence the bridegroom performs the Sindurdan ceremony (vermilion ceremony). A good feast is

4; Biswas D, E-3,4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

then arranged. The bridegroom with his wife lives in his father-in-law's house and helps him in his household and agricultural work.

Apangir Bapla: I have not come across such a marriage during my investigation. Uma Choudhury when she made a survey of Santal manners and customs in the Santal villages of Hazaribagh, got information about the Apangir Bapla. I am here giving the details of the marriage in her words. "Marriage after elopement is known as Apangir bapla. Santal men and women are quite free to meet at fairs or fields. These stray meetings often lead to love marriages. To signify that a man has fallen in love with a girl, he has to give her a flower as a token of this love wherever they meet. If she returns his love she accepts the token. If she does not she ignores it. When both the boy and the girl are thus informally betrothed by themselves they meet at a moonlit dance which is known as Jhumar dance. As the dance goes on the girl talks with the brother of the boy either real or classifactory and the conversation follows with two meanings and suggestions. The boy gradually comes near the girl of his choice and throws flower at her and is allowed to catch her hand. Then they talk between them softly and slowly so that no one knows what goes on between them. If they are satisfied in their talks the boy proposes to marry the girl and the girl in her turn asks him whether he is willing to maintain her. The usual form of reply which the boy gives is that if she obeys him he will maintain her, otherwise he will not. Immediately after Jhumar dance, regular courtship proceeds. This court-

583 584 ship period is regarded as the happiest time for both. They meet regularly at some selected place outside the village in a jungle or meadow. Their movements are always kept secret. Gradually the relatives of both the parties come to know what is going on between their son and daughter. They find that the boy and the girl do not return home sometimes for days and nights together. So they have to consider consequences of such courtship between the two and even send men on all directions for them. When it is found out what has been going on between the boy and the girl a Panchayat is called. In this Panchayat the presence of the parents of both the parties along with the headman of the two villages is necessary. Further five important persons of the village are invited. The girl's parents ask the boy why he has eloped with their daughter. The boy's parents in their turn ask the girl why she has consented to go with their boy. Then the boy and the girl have to disclose the whole thing about their courtship before the Panchayat and the two village headmen condemn them for their misbehaviour. They tell them that if they want to live together they have to marry otherwise they will not allow them to live together or to meet each other. If they are agreed to this proposal of marriage all the people present in the assembly immediately and make the necessary arrangements for their marriage. In such cases the marriage ceremony is not so elaborate as in the Raebar bapla. Only in the presence of the two village headmen and all the other important people of the Panchayat does the sindradan ceremony takes place.

583 584 625

583 585

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

After that the boy has to pay sufficient money as fines to provide a feast for the whole village[1]".

Tunki Dipil Bapla: This type of marriage is performed by poor men. As they have not sufficient money to bear the expenses of the regular marriage (Raibar Bapla) they resort to this type, in which the bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom with a small basket on her head, a few friends and relatives accompany her to her house. The bridegroom in the presence of these persons applies vermilion mark on her head and a feast is then arranged and the couple then live as husband and wife.

Itut Bapla: This is adopted by forward young men who are not quite sure whether the girl they fancy will accept them, and take this means of compelling her to marry. The man taking some vermilion on his fingers watches his opportunity at the fair or on any similar occasion, marks the girl he is in love with on the forehead and claims her as his wife. Doing this he runs away at full speed to escape from the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations if he is caught on the spot. In any case the girl's relatives will go to his village and will obtain from the headmen the permission to kill and eat three of the goats of the offender or of his father and a double bride-price must be paid for the girl. The marriage is however legal and if the girl still declines to live with the man, she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster.

[1]Uma Chowdbury—Marriage Customs of the Santals—Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology Vol. I No. 1 January, 1932 pp. 104-105.

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

583 584 **Nirbolok Bapla**: This form may be said to be the female variety of 'Itut'. A girl, who cannot get a man whom she likes in the regular way, takes a pot of rice-beer (pachawee), enters his house and insists upon staying there. They do not adopt any physical force to expel her from the house. It is said to be quite fair and usually effective to throw red pepper on the fire as by inhaling the smoke she is compelled to run away, but if she passes this endurance test without leaving the house, she is held to have won her husband and the family is bound to recognize her.

586 **Divorce**: Divorce is a common sequel to Santal marriage and is granted at the wish of either husband or wife. Following are the grounds for which the Santal men and women demand divorce. The husband can demand divorce if his wife is proved to be a witch, or is sexually immoral and if she does not obey him or lives all the time in her father's house. The wife can claim divorce if her husband cannot supply her with sufficient food, clothing, ornaments, etc. Sterility is also an important ground for divorce. The one who wants a divorce is expected to bear the expenses. In case the husband seeks divorce he cannot claim the bride-price originally paid and also has to pay a fine of Rs. 5 and give the woman a piece of cloth. If, on the other hand, it is the wife who demands divorce without just cause, her father has to refund the bride-price to her husband. If adultery is proved against her the co-respondent is called a thief and has to pay Rs. 60 as fine. If the man is guilty, the bride-price is forfeited. The divorce is effected in the [516] presence of the assembled villagers in the following

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

177 Bengali. The female members mostly cannot speak any
192 language except their own. They learn Hindi when
[191] they come in contact with the Hindi speaking labourers in the coal mines, railway workshops or when they come in contact with the Hindu Mahajans (money
177 lenders) and traders. Some of the Hindi and Bengali
192 words have also been introduced in their vocabulary which can be noticed in the language of their *mantras* and *prayers*.

302 Vermilion is one of the most important item for
583 marriage and in the worship of deities both for the
179 Hindus and the Santals. Some think that the Santals
174 have copied it from the Hindus, but it is doubtful whether it is their borrowed thing at all. Because in such important social customs as marriage and worship of tribal deities, vermilion is considered by the Santals
• [583] as an essential ingredient. There is a kind of marriage in which a Santal can marry a woman simply by applying vermilion on her forehead, which shows that vermilion is the only binding source of marriage here. Such an important ingredient of culture is not usually borrowed and we can take it as a case of culture similarity.
177 Similarly, another custom of *Garde Jawas* is prevalent both among the Santals and the Hindus. There are other similarities in their social, religious and economic structure with the Hindus, but all of them cannot be attributed to their borrowing from the Hindus. Infact, saying so, implies that the Santals had no culture of of their own, which can not be true. It seems that there has been a two-way traffic of culture exchange-Hindus having borrowed some elements from the Santals and vice versa.

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

for his granddaughter in order that she might be settled in life before he passed away. The girl was seven years of age and she was married to a boy of fourteen. Only a token bride price was received. Girls are usually married when they are about sixteen, while young men are generally between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. There is no test of a prospective bride's virginity. The fact that sexual experience of a kind is common before marriage is known to all, though it is not openly or actively encouraged, and a girl who is thought to be a wanton may have to wait for marriage through one of the more irregular channels that are open to her.

The initiative is taken by the parents of the bridegroom. Parents of marriageable girls are not always passive spectators, but any inquiries instituted by them are likely to be tactful and indirect. When the parents of a young man have made tentative inquiries and wish to begin negotiations they engage the services of a friend as a "go-between", known as a *raebaric'*, to visit the home of the prospective bride. He addresses the parents of the girl in some such roundabout manner as the following: "Have you found a place yet for your new cooking pot? I have some friends who are unable to cook their herbs and so they have asked me to find a new cooking pot for them." If the report of this first visit is satisfactory it is followed by an exchange of ceremonial visits. First a party from the bridegroom's village journey to the bride's home. The go-between is accompanied by the young man's parents and some of their friends, a party of five or seven persons in all. Omens by the way are noted, and they are not all left to chance. Before the party enter the bride's village the *raebaric'* goes ahead and tells the people to do nothing that will upset the auspicious nature of the occasion. When leaving their own village or on entering the girl's village, should they see fire, an axe, a woman with a load of wood on her head, a snake or a jackal crossing the path from left to right, they return home and the whole matter is dropped. If, however, they see a full water pot, a cow, a new brass plate, a pannicred bullock, the pugmarks of a leopard or a jackal crossing the path from right to left, the omens are good. If all goes well, details of the bride price are fixed, a time is arranged when the bride's relations will pay their return visit and all is sealed by the proferring and acceptance of tobacco and beer.

On their way home from the bride's house the members of the party sing:

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

584 *horok' cikhna*, the "putting on of a sign" in token of the agree-
584 ment. When the bridegroom's party arrive at the home of the
584 prospective bride they are welcomed as honoured guests. String beds are placed in the courtyard for them to sit on, their feet are washed and massaged with oil and they are served with beer. This over, they are taken into the house and given parched rice with molasses to eat. Their hands are then washed by their hosts and they are served with more beer before emerging from the house. Then the guests adjourn to bathe, and on their return they are seated on mats in the courtyard to eat a meal. This meal consists of rice and curry. Unless food consists of rice and curry it is never considered to be a full meal. While the menfolk
[302] eat, the women prepare themselves by dressing their hair; they put vermilion in their hair parting and also on both sides of the forehead, the marks going up from the outer end of the eyebrows in the shape of horns. When all have eaten and washed, the guests sit down once more and the bride-to-be is brought out by a married woman to pay her respects to the visitors. When she makes a low obeisance before the bridegroom's father he invests her with the "sign". This is either a necklace, a piece of cloth or a pair of bangles. When she bows before him she places at his feet a small brass vessel full of water, and in it he drops two rupees.

584 In the conversation that follows, all outstanding details of
• 583 the wedding arrangements are completed. First there has to be agreement about the bride price. This is known by two different terms, both of which are of Indo-Aryan origin. The first term, *gonoi*, is from a root meaning to count or calculate, and the second, *pon*, is from a root meaning earnest-money or a pledge. The amount is variable, and this leads to some bargaining. Thirty years ago seven rupees used to be considered a high figure, whereas now the sum varies from eleven to twenty-one rupees. The *jogmaṇjhi* of the bridegroom's village asks the bride's father to declare his wishes. He does so, not in words, but by placing the correct number of cowrie shells in leaf cups, whereupon the cups are passed over to the visitors. When a small bride price is agreed upon, the bridegroom's father understands that he cannot expect any gifts at the time of the marriage and he will have to bear the expenses of his own party for new clothes. Ordinarily, however, the bride's parents present the cloth to be worn by the bridegroom during the marriage ceremony. In addition, his family are entitled to receive the present of a cow or a goat, according to circumstances. The bride's family expects, in

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

addition to the bride price, to receive a cloth for the bride's mother, one for her father's eldest sister and one each for her two grandmothers.

Some agreement must also be reached about the time of the marriage. This must not take place in the month in which either the bridegroom or bride was born. Formerly, I was told, there was no other prohibition regarding the month. Nowadays, however, the general practice of Hindus in Northern India is followed. Astrologers are not consulted, but marriages may not take place during the rains, and the most popular months are during the spring when the harvest has been gathered in and food is abundant. When the time is approaching, the actual date of the wedding is arranged by the go-between, and the *giṛa* is used to mark off the days remaining.

The whole community in both villages is vitally concerned in the due celebration of the wedding, and this fact is emphasized by the rôle of the village officials. The *jogmaṇjki* of the bride's village acts as the master of ceremonies from the time when the marriage booths have to be erected until the end. The headman of the bridegroom's village does not take part in the preliminary visits by virtue of his office, but when the two families immediately involved are satisfied that they wish to proceed, both headmen are called in. They have to be present when the engagement is confirmed, and they are consulted about suitable dates. The final "contract" at the climax of the wedding celebrations is entered into by the people of the two villages, and it is made by the respective headmen. The village priest also plays a part, for the community involved in the marriage includes the spirits, who are guardians of the welfare of the tribe, and the ancestors, guardians of family and clan. Their blessing has to be sought. In an interesting passage Dr. Verrier Elwin says of the marriage ceremonial of the tribes of the Maikal hills: "There is little religion in it." On any definition of religion it would be difficult to maintain this thesis with regard to Santal marriage. The whole passage is quoted here, for the rest of what is said does apply in most of its detail to the Santal form of marriage: "We have already spoken of this ceremony as a work of art. There is little religion in it, but it has great social and symbolic value. It is hard to conceive of a better way of impressing on a man and woman their social and sexual union. The tying together of the clothes, the exchange of rings, the first meals together, the ceremonies by the river that symbolize mutual aid in domestic, sexual and food-obtaining activities, are of great significance.

Sr Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

iron bangle on her wrist and iron betel nut crackers in her hand. Then they are led inside the house, where they are set down and fed on a dish of black beans and rice. The bridegroom has to make a show of refusing to eat until the bride's father presents him with a rupee.

The party outside begin to drink beer that is variously named by the different groups. The bride's fellow villagers drink beer "in honour of the guests", while the bridegroom's fellow villagers drink "in honour of the new relations"; the young people are permitted to drink "dew beer" that will help them to avoid the chill they might otherwise contract by dancing and drumming through the whole night. While a feast of goat's meat curry and rice is being prepared the guests sit around and talk and sing. The headmen of the two villages, however, have some work to complete. The presents from the bridegroom's family are handed over by their headman to the bride's headman. These are for the most part clothing. The *boiga itat'* is a cloth of twelve cubits for the sister of the bride's father. *Itat'* is a word that ordinarily means food left over on the plate of one who has eaten; perhaps it is applied to these presents in the sense that they are left over when the bride price has been given and received. The bride's mother receives a cloth of eleven cubits. The grandmothers receive cloths of ten cubits known as the *here itat'*, or husks. The bride's father may receive a cow, and her maternal uncle is given a money fee, it is said, instead of a cow. The amount given is small, usually a few annas. The headmen themselves receive a half-rupee each, the *jogmajhi* receives a loin-cloth and the *godet'* one anna, while the anointing maidens receive a half-anna each. In this way the special duties and responsibilities of various parties to the wedding are acknowledged. The bride's maternal grandmother is made to "pay" for her cloth. She does so by presenting five small measures of rice, five sticks of turmeric and five rolled cheroots to the bridegroom's headman, all being wrapped in a bundle together. The bride price that is paid at this time is also paid through the headmen. Many of the presents and fees are known by hidden names. The bride price is called the "milk tree", a term that is also used sometimes for a mother; the fee received by the headmen is known as the "tree of the sacred grove"; the cloth for the bride's mother is called "hot water".[1]

When the feasting is over the bridegroom's party gets ready to leave and the members are escorted to the end of the village street. There once more they sit down and a final beer-drinking

[1] See Chapter 4, p. 48, for other examples connected with marriage.

Sa Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

takes place. This is drunk only by the headmen of the two villages. Water from a brass pot is spilt on the ground and the headman of the bride's village delivers a marriage sermon. Here and there the words of the sermon may vary slightly, but the form is fairly well established. The bridegroom is addressed: "Well now then, from today we have tied a wooden cow bell round your neck. When you go out to hunt and when you go to collect fruits in the forest you may eat a half of whatever you find, but you must bring a half of it home." The bride is told: "Well now, until today you have been able to go about just as you wanted to, but from today we have tied a wooden cow bell round your neck; you can no longer go about to markets and festivals as you please." The headman of the bridegroom's village is told: "O father headman, from today our two villages have become as one. When the girl has any illness or when she dies, it is for you to see to it. Up till now you have not been responsible, but from today we shall require of you blood of the head, blood of the ear. If any mishap befalls and you cannot spare a man to send the news, then you must send word by a dog. Formerly you were strangers and you used to pass by our village. Now if any of your people is passing this way going to hunt or going to market and he is thirsty, he must stop and ask for a drink." The headman of the bridegroom's village makes a suitable reply acknowledging the new ties that bind them together.

The comparative freedom of association between youths and girls in markets, fairs and other gatherings of Santals gives rise to situations that cannot be dealt with as normal marriages, and so other forms are recognized. When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, providing there are no barriers to the marriage on account of clan and family relationships, she is encouraged to go to the home of the youth involved in the case. Bride price is paid, but the ceremony of putting vermilion on her head has to be postponed until after the birth of her child. Sometimes the village has to take cognizance of a situation arising out of the disagreement of the parents of either a girl or a boy to a marriage which they both desire. It may be that the boy and girl have run away together. Then the village officials call a council to regularize the situation. The father of the bride can claim only half the usual amount of bride price and the only cloths provided by the bridegroom's father are for the bride's mother and maternal grandmother. The third cloth is not given, I was told, "because it has been eaten by white ants", i.e. when the young couple lay out on the ground of the forest together. There are two ways open to

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

583 •

a youth to force the issue on unwilling parents or an unwilling bride. Marriage by capture is still recognized as valid, provided that the girl expresses her willingness to stay with her captor. In such cases all the usual presents have to be given and a double bride price must be paid. The second method open to an impatient bridegroom is to waylay the girl of his choice and forcibly place the vermilion on her head. This is usually accomplished with the aid of his friends and often with the secret connivance of the girl concerned. Marriage by this means has to be recognized, but the fellow villagers of the outraged girl's parents do not accept the situation without protest. They march to the young man's village and if on their arrival they receive a friendly welcome and are asked to be reasonable they sit down to talk and make arrangements, which include an enhanced bride price by way of compensation to the girl's parents. If, on the other hand, they are received sullenly and the young man hides from them they become angry and do all the damage they can to his home, from pulling down the roof to killing any animals that may belong to his family.

Occasionally it happens that a girl takes matters into her own hands and forces her way into the home of the young man whom she wants to marry her. This, according to Santals, is only a ruse, for no girl would go to such a length unless she had very good reason to suppose that she would be welcomed. When this has happened marriage does not necessarily follow, but the girl must not be turned out and sent back to her own home until a council representing the two villages has met and sanctioned such a course. If marriage is decided upon, the girl's father has to forego the bride price. Another type of concession is made when the parents of the bride are considered to be too poor to pay all the expenses of the full ceremony. The wedding then takes place in the home of the bridegroom and it is known as a *tunki dipil bapla*. *Tunki* is the name of a small basket in which the presents, including a cloth for the bride, are carried on the head—the meaning of *dipil*—to her home. These things with the bride price are taken to the bride's home, but the party return on the same day to the home of the bridegroom, taking with them the bride and her relations, and there the main ceremony is performed.

587

A second marriage, whether it be the marriage of a widow or a widower, of woman who has been previously divorced or a man who is taking a second wife, conforms to a simpler pattern than a first marriage. The bride price paid is only a half of the usual amount.

(583)

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

587 amount. The man and the woman are seated on the ground facing each other. The man takes a flower in his hand, and applying the vermilion to the flower and not direct to the woman's head he places the flower in her hair. Afterwards he places on her arm the iron bangle. As one would expect, widowers are usually anxious to marry again as soon as possible, for they are greatly dependent on the help of the woman in the home and in their fields. In the spring of 1941 I was passing through a village in which a wedding was in progress between a widower and a girl who had been previously married and deserted by her husband. In that year marriages were scarce in the countryside because the previous year's rice crop had been a failure and not many could meet the expenses of a wedding. This bridegroom explained his position to me in these words: "I just had to be married again. My first wife was destroyed last year, and if I have no wife who will help me in the fields? I cannot pay wages for labour." He pointed to the bride and asked me what I thought of her. My comments were, I hope, extremely tactful; he told me: "She is a very strong woman." Most of the women who contract a second marriage have been divorced. Although there is no bar to widow remarriage, widows do not often marry again. One reason is the existence of a modified form of fraternal polyandry. A woman is permitted to have sexual relations with her husband's younger brother, and in the event of her husband's death it is his younger brother's duty to marry her. Even where the conditions are not favourable to such an arrangement, she is usually welcome to stay on in the home of her late husband. She probably does a good deal more than earn her own keep by her share in the work of the household, and where she has children they belong to the clan and family of her husband and make a bond between her and the rest of the family.

595 Cases of polygamy are rare. The most frequently recognized cause of a polygamous marriage is the absence of children by the first wife. Such a wife may be divorced or leave, but sometimes she prefers to remain with her husband, who takes another wife in order to beget children. The only case known to me where a man had three wives was exceptional in another way, for he was one of the few Santals of the area who was a prosperous landowner-cultivator. In all that has been said the assumption has been made that the family is patrilocal. The only exception to this rule arises when a man has no sons but has daughters. In this event one at least of the daughters remains at her own home after her marriage, and her husband, known as a "house son-in-

St Culshaw M-S (1892-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

law", comes to live there. This arrangement is common to all agricultural communities in Bengal. Among the Santals no bride price has to be paid, and in some instances the marriage ceremony is postponed till the end of a trial period during which the youth lives in the home of his future father-in-law and works for him without wages. He is accepted as the girl's husband when he is known to be a good worker, and thereby he also establishes his claim to receiving a portion of the land when his father-in-law dies. He does not change his clan, for this he cannot do, but he and his heirs can inherit from his wife's father. Hence this form of marriage furnishes the only exception to the rule that land must not pass out of the possession of the clan.

The term for divorce comes from the symbolic act that accompanies it. It is *sakam orec'*, or "leaf tearing". There are two sufficient reasons for a man to divorce his wife. The first is infidelity and the second is witchcraft. As marriage is a contract that involves two villages, representatives of both villages are summoned to sanction the divorce. The bride's father is compelled to return the bride price and the husband makes formal declaration of the divorce. He takes a *sarjom* leaf between his hands and tears it down the centre in token of the dissolution of the marriage tie. Then he has to provide a meal for those who have been summoned to the council. Owing to the fact that the bride price has to be repaid to the husband's family, the parents of the bride frequently object to the action, and where the guilt of the wife requires to be proved the proceedings may drag on for several months. If her parents can show that some blame attaches to the husband they can retain the bride price, and this they usually wish to do even when they do not desire their daughter to be reinstated in her husband's home. Until the bride price has been repaid the formal dissolution cannot take place.

A wife cannot formally divorce her husband, but she can, and sometimes does, refuse to continue to live with him. The problem of the runaway wife is one that is continually exercising the Santal village community, a fact that suggests the existence of many underlying strains. The mother-in-law is frequently blamed. In one family well known to me the wife of the younger son ran to her own home during the cultivation season in several successive years. At that time her presence was greatly needed to help with the fields, and she asserted her rights by running away. Her own explanation was that her mother-in-law made her work too hard and did not give her enough to eat. She remained with her own parents, who were not unwilling to feed